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much laughter. He was quite courteous to me when I visited him, but difficult to engage in conversation, and very chary of his words.

Every hamlet contains one or more huts set apart for the exclusive use of the men and boys (*tobăr*). In the Bougainville villages these must be used by the boys wearing the *upi* (headgear indicating that they have not finished their puberty ceremonies, see Ch. VI), who are prohibited from entering any hut occupied by a woman. In Buka, where the boys do not wear the *upi*, their segregation is less rigid, but they may sleep in the 'men's house' if they wish. In both districts unattached men usually sleep there, and male guests from other villages are accommodated there if their visit extends overnight. The men say that this is a good idea because it prevents the visitors from meddling with the village women. These huts do not differ in any respect from the others (see Pl. 30 *b*). They vary in size according to the number of people likely to use them. There seems to be no fixed situation assigned to them in relation to the other huts of the village. In some hamlets they stand in line with the others, in some they are off to one side a little. In other places they occupy part of the ground in front of the line, if this can be arranged without encroaching too much upon the space needed for dancing. Any hut occupied by a man living alone, e.g. an old widower, may be used to house some of the boys if occasion requires. Where the *tobăr* is in the middle of the village, it serves as a gathering-place for the men in their idle moments. Where it stands apart, the men tend to congregate in the front portion of the hut belonging to the *tunuun* (chief), which has a kind of porch attached to it.

Most villages are fenced except where they face the shore. In the beach villages the fence is made of stones and chunks of coral rock, in the cliff villages of saplings put in green and left to grow. It does not seem to be a survival of an old stockade, but a recent innovation, erected at the instance of the Government with the idea of keeping the pigs away from the dwellings, but as it is always full of gaps, either due to neglect or left intentionally to facilitate entrance and exit, in most cases it fails to function. On the outskirts are planted banana, bread-fruit, and other useful trees. Coco-nuts are not liked in close proximity to the huts, as the heavy nuts are apt to do damage in falling. At some place convenient for launching, there will be one or more sheds for

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361 The plan of the village of Kurtatchi, with details (given in Appendix I) concerning the huts of one portion of it, will serve as a concrete illustration of many points bearing on the organization of village life. The huts described formerly belonged to the hamlet of Gomen; they were being transferred to join those already standing at Kurtatchi at the time when I took up my residence in the village.

ANALYSIS OF POPULATION OF KURTATCHI VILLAGE IN 1930[1]

621 During the nine months I lived at Kurtatchi (January to September 1930), the resident population of that village was made up as 162 follows:

Males.		*Females.*	
Widowers (1 young)	7	Widows (3 of child-bearing age)	12
Married adults	24	Married adults	35
Adolescent boys (wearing the *upi*)	25	Adolescent girls	7
Children	14	Children	12
Total	70	Total	66

Total number of both sexes and all ages, 136.

162 Apart from temporary variations, occasioned by the payment of visits and the hospitality offered to guests from other villages, 163 which are of constant occurrence, the changes taking place in the 165 population during my stay were as follows. There were two births, ● 574 but neither of these added to the total, since one of the babies died two days after birth, the other belonged to a woman who came from her husband's village to be confined in her mother's hut; she took the baby home in a few weeks. There was one miscarriage. One woman was known to be pregnant at the time of my departure. One marriage took place, the bride coming to live in her husband's village. There were five deaths, one old man, two middle-aged men, one child about four, and the new-born child above mentioned.

167 Two men were away working as indentured labourers. Both returned to live in the village before I left it. Proportionately fewer 881 people were away from this village than usual, because a taboo pre- 784 vented the adolescent boys and the young men who were their sponsors from signing on as indentured labourers until after the 464 performance of the *watawutf* ceremony, an important part of the boys' puberty rites. They were permitted to work on local

[1] I am here concerned not with demographic problems but only with the village as it was when this study was made.

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be for us to be directed to fill up an official document using the maiden name of our mother in place of our own surname.

THE CLAN

Beyond the inner ring formed by the lineage, there is an outer ring of persons with whom the child, as he grows older, will find himself in association. This outer ring embraces all those people belonging to the same clan as himself, wherever they may live. The collective word in the Petats dialect for the people standing to an individual in this wider association is *ugut*, and in the Kurtatchi dialect *wūti* (clan). But when persons included in this group are referred to individually, a Kurtatchi man will often use the same term as for members of his lineage, calling them *boanē* (meaning 'my clansmen'). It is usually perfectly clear from the context whether the word is being used in its wider or in its narrower sense, but if it is necessary to emphasize the distinction still more, he will explain the former as *pes wūti*, 'of one clan', and the latter as *boanē tsūn*, or *boanē kuruts*, my 'real', or 'true' kinsfolk.

The child's association with his clansmen will depend, naturally, to some extent upon their place of residence. With those who live in the same village he feels himself more closely associated than with those who live afar off. But he applies the same term also to clansmen in other villages, and there is no doubt that the bond is a real, though rather vague one. It is, however, weaker to-day than in the olden time, since there is no longer any call to support one's clansmen in battle.

On visiting another village, a man will first of all seek out his clansmen, who will sponsor him during his stay. Those of his own sex whom he knows personally he calls *kiar*, even if there be no blood relationship between them. This term is also used in a narrower sense for those of his siblings who are of the same sex as himself. When inquiring about a man who was thus specified, but who did not appear anywhere in the speaker's genealogy, I often received the explanation 'He is not my real brother (*kiar tsūn*), but we belong to the same clan (*pes wūti*)'.

Throughout the whole area with which this book is concerned, there are at the present time two important clans. In most places they are designated Naboin and Nakarib. They are not, however, to be regarded as moieties indicating a dual organization, at any rate at the present time, because in some villages there are also

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583 strings were shared. This occasion was comparatively devoid of ceremony, because the girl was a commoner.

583 565 [302] [614] Up to the time when the strings of *imun* are hung up from the roof of the hut, a girl who is *tsunaun* must remain inside. Her mother has painted her hair with red and black paint (*oin* and *tʃina*), in alternate stripes. If she belongs to the clan Naboin the paint is put on in many narrow stripes, to represent a *sui*, a kind of sea-urchin. If she belongs to the clan Nakarib she has a broad black stripe on each side of her head and a red one in the centre. I could get no explanation of the difference in the patterns, except that they 'belonged to' the respective clans. The *sui* is not a totem. *Beroan* and *imun* belonging to her own people are put on her wrists, and her *ruanbē* (husband's mother) or some one chosen by her, usually the girl's *tauwē* (husband's sister) puts more paint on her hair, on the top of the *usboŋ* pattern that had previously been put on, so that her head is heavy with paint. Then the *imun* and *beroan* are taken off her wrists and given back to her mother. The strings of currency which were hung up over the *tagoan* are taken down, and all the guests, both men and women, go into the hut, and eat the food that has been provided by the girl's mother. When all have eaten their fill, they go outside, except the boy's mother, who remains inside, looking for a chance to give to the girl's mother a string of *imun* and one of *beroan* which she kept back for the purpose, when the rest of the currency was hung up at the *tagoan*. This is for the girl's mother personally. She does not get any of the strings which were hung up, they go to the girl's *tsoa* and other relatives on both sides of the house. The boy's mother must give these personal strings to the girl's mother secretly, when no one is looking. When she has done so, the two mothers join the rest of the party outside the hut, and all the guests are given food to take back with them in the *kōbū* they have brought on purpose. They get taro, 'possum, pig, *menak*, all in large quantities.

583 [565 482] The girl must now go back with her husband's people. But if she is *tsunaun* she is not allowed to walk, so a man who belongs to the same clan as her husband takes her up pick-a-back. If she is small and light she is carried thus all the way to her husband's village, but if she is heavy she is carried only for a short distance outside her own village and then set down. So she comes to the 583 boy's village, and there she must now remain. Once the currency 574 has been handed over, she cannot go back to her mother any more

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except for a visit. Whenever she does this, her mother must always make some *menak* and bring it back with the girl, whom she must escort in person.

After one of these visits to her mother a further ceremonial gift is made by the girl's mother to the boy's people. On her return she is accompanied by a number of women from her own village, bringing *menak* and taro, both cooked and raw. A few men accompany them, carrying a pig, which must be alive. Some ceremonial currency is also brought; the amount varies and is apparently immaterial. In the two cases personally known to me, for Tchawawan two fathoms of *imun* and one of *beroan*, for Tagoal one of *imun* and one of *beroan* were brought.[1] On this occasion the girl and the women who accompany her come round to the front of the boy's mother's hut and go in by the men's entrance (*tagoan*), never used by women in the ordinary way. The pig is brought as payment for the privilege of using the front part of the house. If no pig were forthcoming, whenever the boy's mother was angry with the girl she would taunt her with it, saying: 'Why does this woman sit down in my *tagoan*? What did you bring me? Your people did not bring me a pig to eat, you have not paid for my *tagoan*.' That is why they bring a pig. If it were not done, the wife could not go into the front portion of the hut, and she would not be allowed to perform certain personal services for her husband, such as cutting his hair and putting paint on it in preparation for ceremonies or dancing. Tagoal remained with Kiram's people for four weeks after this ceremony.

During the next few years the girl spends much of her time with her husband's people, living in her mother-in-law's hut, and working for her. But if the boy is still wearing the *upi* she must not speak to him, though she may do him small services. The boy's mother says to her: 'Do not be shy of your husband. If I am not here when he asks for taro, you go and give it to him.' (A boy wearing the *upi* is allowed to come to the door of his mother's hut to fetch the taro she has cooked for him, but he may not enter it.) In the case of a girl married to a man who already has a wife and a hut of his own, she lives in his hut and helps his other wife, but the marriage is never consummated during this period. Takon,

[1] The strings of *beroan* worn by Tagoal in the photograph (Pl. 7*a*) were all taken off before her relatives went home, and put on a much smaller girl in the party, who wore them back to Ruri.

[Cat. 116) facing p. 87. - Haddon]

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582 experienced her first menstruation, though there appear to be
[585] some exceptions to this latter rule. A youth who is *tsunaun* will
565 have more than one wife assigned to him at an early age. They
582 are called husband and wife from the time of betrothal. Kiram,
595 a lad of fourteen or fifteen, had for his first 'wife' Tagoal, a girl of perhaps ten or twelve (see Pl. 7 *a*). For her the ceremonial currency had been handed over. His second 'wife', Buin, was about seven or eight, and was still spending most of her time with her mother, the currency not having changed hands as yet.

574 During the years between betrothal and the marriage ceremony,
584 the girl pays long and frequent visits to her husband's people, or
883 may, in some cases, be taken over by them altogether, particularly if her mother is not living. But if the boy still wears the *upi*, they are kept rigorously apart; there is no chance of their getting to know each other at all, and when the time comes for the marriage to be consummated they are still practically strangers. Some girls fret a good deal on their visits to their 'in-laws', others appear to settle down quite happily. As regards the routine of her life, the early betrothal makes little difference to a girl. She works for her husband's people instead of for her own, and looks after his babies, if he is already married, instead of the babies of her mother's family. She is, as a rule, well treated by her prospective mother-in-law, and drops into place with the girls of her own age in the village, who treat her as one of themselves.

BEGINNING OF MARRIED LIFE

591 After the final marriage ceremony, the young couple usually settle down near the husband's people, sometimes actually in his mother's hut, to begin with. Kakari and Muben were still living with Matēv nine months after their marriage, in spite of Matēv's repeated hints that it was time he built a hut for himself in the vacant space next to hers. But sometimes, under pressure from the girl's people, the couple will live in her village, especially if she be a person of importance. There are enough instances of both practices to suggest that it is not correct to describe these natives as either 'matri-' or 'patrilocal', but that there is freedom of choice, with the balance towards the custom of living in the village which was the husband's home before marriage. In either case, they will, in years to come, spend a certain amount of time in the village which was the home of the other partner.

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woman when she goes to wash. As it is thrown into the sea and carried away by the current, all the women call out: 843 792

Som si mĕ mon ta bai'i ta dum tsĭn.
Give woman child good very

No names are mentioned, but it is understood that it is the *urar* who are called upon. Then the woman puts on a girdle made of the black outside layer of the trunk of the bush banana, and fixes some leaves of the plant called *sts* into it in front, so that they hang down over her genitals. This plant is one which is always planted in the taro garden in order to ensure a good crop. She must continue to wear this belt until the second part of the pregnancy ceremony has been performed. 843 292 824

When her mother thinks that the time has come for this, which she estimates by noticing the pregnant woman's bodily condition, she takes a certain black stone, washes it carefully, and decorates it with streaks of black and red paint. With the stone she makes passes round the woman's body, touching the skin, and then rubs it on her abdomen, pressing downwards. As she is being rubbed, the pregnant woman must say: 'I want a good child who will be born easily.' Then the child that is in the stone comes out and passes into the woman and helps the real child to be born. The stone is put back into the hut, carefully wrapped up in fibre, to be kept till it is wanted again for the same purpose. The woman takes off her girdle and has her hair cut short over the rest of her head, where it was not cut on the previous occasion. If she has come to her mother's village specially for this ceremony she may now go back to her husband's people. There is no feast at this part of the proceedings. 843 823

The black stones used for rubbing the pregnant woman's abdomen are much prized. With great difficulty I succeeded in obtaining one which had been used for the wife of the man who gave it to me; he said she would not have any more children so she would not want it again. It is of a volcanic nature, a species of diorite. It measures 4½×2 in., is oval in shape, and water-worn. It was probably obtained from the bed of one of the rivers which flow from the volcanic interior of the island, and must have come from some distance, because there is no stone of that nature anywhere near the village.

The young woman for whom I saw this ceremony performed 843 574

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843 574 had come from a village about ten miles off, and remained with her mother until some weeks after the birth of her baby. This is very frequently done, if the two villages are not too far distant from each other. In the case of another birth which came under my notice, the woman's mother was dead, but in spite of this the expectant mother came back to her own village and was confined in her sister's hut. The sister was present and helped her through the delivery. Not infrequently, however, a woman will elect to remain in the hut her husband provided for her, in which case, if she is living in her husband's village, his mother will help her.

DIARY OF A PREGNANT WOMAN

843 [482] During her pregnancy a woman works as usual, except that a primipara will be allowed some relief from heavy work in the taro garden towards the end. All women will carry loads of taro or firewood on their backs right up to the end of the pregnancy; they say this helps the child to be born easily. A pregnant woman must be careful that there are no men in sight while she is preparing her pack, and must wait till they have all gone away.

I kept a record of the activities of Manēv, a girl of eighteen or thereabouts, for three weeks before the birth of her first child, which may be summarized as follows:

Aug. 4. A message was sent to me that the confinement might be expected at any time, so I went over to Tabut, where she lived, and arranged to stay there until after the baby was born. Manēv was away at the taro garden, and worked there all day. When I asked how they knew the time was near, her husband said 'the rope has broken here', pointing to a place between her breasts.

Aug. 5. Manēv went fishing for shell-fish on the reef, remaining there for several hours.

Aug. 6. She went to the bush to get bread-fruit, climbed several trees, and carried an enormous load of bread-fruit home. She danced vigorously at the *kōma* in the evening.

Aug. 9. She went with other women to trade with the Ruri people on the road about 3 miles from Tabut. She carried a load of bread-fruit on the outward journey and a load of sweet potatoes home.

Aug. 10. Stayed at home most of the day, but carried in a load of firewood in the afternoon.

Aug. 11. Was preparing to take a load of taro down to Mrs. Hadden's plantation (about three miles away), but Mrs. Hadden told her not

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here described as nearly as I could ascertain in the order in which they would be performed.

1. *At birth.*

While a woman *tsunaun* is in labour, every one in the village abstains from food. As soon as the child is born, the slit-gong is beaten, and a feast is held, with food provided by the child's relatives. Any one connected with the child, both on its mother's and its father's side, will contribute food, and the more food provided the greater is the prestige. The food is distributed among the people of the village, and there is a *kōma* that night. For the birth of a commoner there is no general fasting, no slit-gong, no feast, and no *kōma*.

2. *At first washing.*

All the people of the village, both men and women, must abstain from eating pig and fish till the child is washed on the fifth day. Then a pig is killed, and cooked in a pot, not roasted as is the general method of cooking pigs for feasts. All the women prepare large quantities of taro. A fire is made, small pieces of taro, pig, and fish are placed in the fire, and the *urar* of all the important people of the child's clan, not only those who died long since, but also those who have not long been dead, are called upon by name, with the adjuration:

'*Komu tsuria, nom en a tamū, a ta gū, a ta ien, sa*
Here is fire, you eat taro, pig, fish, so that
nabau en sas ta ta ien to babēn ner, a ta gū mē.'
the people (may) eat again fish forbidden, pig also.

The *urar* hear this; they come and eat what has been burned. This lifts the taboo on eating flesh foods for the people of the village and for the child's relatives, except its parents.

3. *In the early days.*

'While it is still a new baby', there is a ceremony involving those of its relatives who stand to the child in the relationship called *matʃitʃio*, in particular its mother's mother's brother's daughters. The men of the village go out on to the reef and catch a number of the tiny fish called *karios*. These are about the size of a large minnow, and are usually regarded as not worth catching, except by small children for fun. They are brought to the child's hut,

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where they are carefully wrapped up in leaves, one *karios* in each package. The women cook some taro and cut it into very small pieces. Little baskets made of plaited coco-nut leaves are prepared, and are filled with these small pieces of taro. On the top of each basket is put a package containing *karios*, the relish. Each of the women who are *watʃitʃio* to the child then receives one of these baskets, and must eat the contents sitting on the *tagoan*, the front or men's verandah, if the child is a boy, on the *babots*, the back or women's verandah, if it is a girl. They may, if they wish, send some of the food to other women, who do not, however, partake of it in their company. But all the small children of the village, who come crowding round, are given some *karios* and taro. Then a small enclosure is prepared, on the women's side of the huts, in any convenient vacant spot. It is made of small logs. They explained that it was the same sort of enclosure as they make to keep wild pigs caught in preparation for a feast, which is made of logs piled up one on top of another. Into this enclosed space must be thrown all the taro peelings and other remains of the little feast, and the baskets in which taro and *karios* had been placed, which must first be torn to pieces. After this time the child's excreta must be thrown into this enclosure, until it can walk. It is too dangerous to throw them away into the bush as is done with those of a commoner, since some ill-disposed person might find them and use them to the child's harm.

4. *For first coming outside hut.*

As was previously stated, in the case of persons who are *tsunaun*, mother and child must remain inside the hut for ten days after birth instead of the five prescribed for a commoner. On the ninth day a palisade is erected round the hut, making a little enclosure. Next day the child is brought out, coming first into this enclosure. Then all the women of the village sit down with their legs touching (*asaran paror a gutan*, legs are fixed together), in the same position as is used in the marriage ceremony. The line of women stretches between the hut in which the child was born and the shore. Then a man, who may be one of the child's grandfathers, of either clan, or may be no relation, takes up the child and walks with it over the outstretched legs of the women to the beach. If there are not enough women in the village to reach so far, those at the back get up and go and sit down again in front of the line when the child

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has passed over them. The child is not taken into the water, but held at the brink, while all the men and women of the village enter the sea and play together, the women seizing the men and letting go again, throwing sand and water at one another's heads. 'They play because the child is *tsunaun*.' Then the child is carried back to the hut and all the people return to the village.

After that, the child and also its mother and grandmother are decorated with aromatic and flowering plants, and the mother carries her baby round the village, calling at various houses, to show them the child. Mother and child then return to their own hut, and all the women gather at the *babots*, where they are all given taro and fish, but no pig.

5. *For first touching the ground.*

During the early part of its life a child who is *tsunaun* must never be allowed to touch the ground, but must always be carried or nursed. 'A long time' after the ceremony just described, a further ceremony is carried out, to remove this taboo.

When the time has been settled, all the huts in the village are told about it, and all the women make ceremonial pudding (usually the work of men), and roll it up into very small balls, and cook it in one of the special-shaped pots called *kepa* (Pl. 61*a*, No. 3). They make a basket out of three fronds of the coco-nut palm leaf, and fill the basket with the little balls of pudding. Then they go into the bush and search for certain small plants, *katʃin* and *sekwit*, aromatic plants with very small leaves. They rub the leaves in their hands, to bring out the aromatic qualities, and tie some on to the wrists of the child, and of one of the women who stand to the child in the relationship of *matʃitʃio*. The child has more leaves fastened to his ankles, and some are hung round his neck. These ornaments must be worn for the rest of that day.

The next day all the women of the village collect clean sand, and spread it on the ground in front of the hut where the child lives, i.e. at the *taqoan*. First of all they spread a layer of coco-nut palm leaves on the ground, on the top of these they lay a woman's hood, and then spread the sand on the top of the hood. Fresh *sekwit* leaves are then fastened to the child's wrist, and he is put down to sit on the sand, and plays with it. Then everybody eats some of the small balls of ceremonial pudding. The basket in which it was passed round must not be thrown away. A woman

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852 commoner picks it up and stores it away carefully in the rafters of
565 her hut, where it remains indefinitely. The women all play with
574 the remaining balls of ceremonial pudding, throwing them at each other; when they are tired of this they eat up the remains of the taro.

After this the child may be put down to sit or play on the ground at any time. He continues to wear the *sekwit* leaves for a few days.

852 When the child's parents think it is time to take off the *sekwit*
565 leaves, they make more ceremonial pudding, and invite the women
782 of the village again. A fire is made, and some of the pudding is burnt on it, while the *wrar* are called upon to come and eat; but not this time individually by name.

'Urar, komu tsura, nom en a tamū, mom sek rik nom
Spirits, here is fire you eat taro, we want loosen
(exclusive form)

u sekwit kurin a bai'i, bai'i to tsuga non ia.'
the plant (from) hand of child, child dislikes it.

Then powdered lime is spread round the fire in a circle, the women dab some on their ears, then they take the *sekwit* leaves off the child and throw them away into the enclosure made on the occasion of a previous ceremony.

6. *On returning from the first journey.*

852 This I saw done at Petats; it happens also in the Bougainville
565 villages, so I have included it in the series. In the Petats dialect it is called *lolōas*, in the Kurtatchi dialect *wakōkoa*. It is also performed for adults after a particularly difficult trip, and for important visitors who come from a distance, but for children only on this one occasion.

On the evening of the day when Tiusai had taken her baby son, Kaup, with her to fish on the reef for the first time, she sat on her verandah with Kari, her husband's mother's sister (*haihis*), and Bohin, her husband's mother's sister's son's wife (*munihan*.) Her
[415] own people live on another island. Some of the younger women of the village brought large bush-taro leaves and twisted them up into bags which would hold water. Then they went into the sea and filled them with sea-water, and running at full speed through the village, poured the water over the legs of the three women. None was poured over the legs of the child. This they did twice. The leaves were then hung up on the sides of the hut, where they

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brother and sister, wailed loudest and most earnestly. Subsequent inquiry elicited the explanation that they were wailing because they were sorry for Wanias, who, being a *tsunaun*, and as such an object of envy, will probably fall a victim to 'poison' prepared by some one who is jealous of him.

The women walked round for some time, Pesĕ still carrying Wanias on the pack. Some were wailing the death wail, some were howling, and some yelling, as for a dance, with the slit-gong adding to the general din. Wanias was frightened, as well he might be, and began to cry. After a time his mother took him away to the women's side of the village and quieted him at the breast. Then all the women received baskets containing pig and ceremonial pudding, which they carried off with them to their own huts. The visitors from other villages departed laden with food and areca-nuts. Later there was a *kŏma* which went on till well after sunrise.

The next day Wanias was taken to the taro garden sitting on his mother's pack in the usual manner of children. He continued to wear the strings of *beroan* round his waist for some time.

This brings the little *tsunaun* to the point where he ceases to be a baby. His further fortunes will be followed in the next chapter.

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881 688 754 knows how to 'make poison', and he will exercise his skill against the woman, so that she will shortly die.

881 514 The boys must have their only meal of the day early in the morning, before dawn. It is essential that they should have finished their meal before the women go out to relieve themselves, which they do as soon as dawn has broken; the fact that the boys are living a long way from the village is immaterial.

881 841 753 A woman who is menstruating may not cook taro for the novices, nor may any one else cook it in her hut. If this rule is broken the novices will become very ill, and will waste away till they are reduced to skin and bone. The taro must always be cooked while the children of the house are asleep. If a child cries while the taro is cooking it must not be sent to the novices, or it would make them ill. While cooking for the boys a woman must stay in the hut all the time and watch the taro, she may not leave it even for a few moments for any reason whatever.

THE *WAPI* CEREMONY

881 574 When the time for the *wapi* ceremony approaches, word is sent round to a large number of villages within walking distance, inviting the men to attend. Enormous quantities of food must be provided for the visitors, for if the amount available is insufficient, serious trouble will ensue.

If there are a number of boys ready, and a sufficiency of food, a *wapi* ceremony may be held even if there are, in the villages constituting the group, boys waiting for the *watawutʃ*. But no *wapi* can take place for a long time after the final ceremony (*wasip-sip*) at which the hair is cut off. Boys who are of an age to put on the *upi* during such a period must wait.

The first of the two opportunities I had of witnessing the *wapi* ceremony occurred only a few days after I had taken up my residence at the village of Kurtatchi. Owing to some quarrel, the details of which I could not understand, no one from this village attended the ceremony, though they were apparently invited, as I was asked by several people why they had not come. It was held for the boys of the Hahon villages in the mountains between Soraken and Kunua. I received news of it from Mrs. Hadden, whose plantation hands had asked permission to attend.

After crossing the bay, we started inland from the coast near Soraken Plantation, being joined at intervals by crowds from other

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places, carrying spears, bows and arrows, knives, and trade axes, which they call tomahawks. Those who were not fortunate enough to possess these treasures carried sticks cut from the bush, with leaves still attached to them. Their faces were painted in various patterns, a striking effect being obtained by a bright red (carmine) obtained from the Chinese stores, covering both ears. Nearly every one had a spot of red (*oin*) on both temples; this is a protection against the dangers of the road.

We went on till we came to a village called Kinopawpaw. On its outskirts we found a platform made of boughs, on which were placed a large number of coco-nut-leaf baskets. These were full of roast pig, cooked taro, and ceremonial pudding. Others contained the eggs of the bush fowl (megapode), done up in leaves. Huge bunches of areca-nut, yellow and green, hung from the posts of the platform, together with bundles of betel-pepper leaves. All along the edge of the platform there were coco-nuts. The whole effect was one of lavish abundance, as was intended. This food was provided by the group holding the ceremony, for the benefit of those who came from long distances to attend it.

Our crowd approached the platform with much shouting and brandishing of weapons. They were met by a band who had arrived before us, and a sham fight took place. Then we all sat down and food was distributed. Presently a fresh crowd arrived, every one jumped up and rushed out to meet them, and another sham fight took place. This happened whenever a new contingent came up.

We remained there till darkness had fallen; fresh contingents arrived at frequent intervals, each necessitating the staging of another fight. Finally we started off down a narrow track, in single file, our way lighted by torches made of the dried leaves of the coco-nut palm, and the hurricane lanterns carried by our own party, a less picturesque but more dependable form of illumination. The track was level for a while, then it began to go up and down, with creeks in the valleys, some bridged by logs, some to be forded. Progress was at the rate of about two miles an hour, or less, with frequent halts. Presently we came to an avenue of areca-nut palms. These trees the men in the forefront of the procession proceeded to cut down and strew over the road, though some of them were bearing. It seemed a piece of wanton destruction, but as the owners of the trees were among the destroyers, it was clearly part of the business. They did not gather the areca-nuts from the

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trees they felled, nor pick up those that lay scattered thickly on the ground. Leaving behind us a desolate scene of wreckage, we went on farther and skirted the village of Tchinopai. From now onwards we climbed steeply, dropping into deep valleys between ridges. As we stood, during one of the many pauses, on a downward gradient, we could see the lights of the men in front of us going down into the depths, and those of the head of the procession climbing skywards in the far distance. There must have been between two and three hundred in single file, with torches at intervals, their flicker making the forest into a mysterious place full of weird shadows. It is not difficult to understand the general dread of the forest after nightfall.

When we had almost made up our minds that we were to walk all night, we came to the village of Nimbarossi. On the verandah of a house by the road was laid out another store of provisions, which were promptly distributed. The crowd then disposed itself for what remained of the night, some inside the house, some on the verandah, and a great many on the ground outside.

Every one was up at dawn next morning, and the long line continued to wind up hill and down dale, crossing rivers—fortunately plentifully supplied with boulders—at intervals. The line was constantly broken by men dashing into the bush to get some sweet-smelling or bright-coloured plant, which they stuck into their hair and armbands, or their belts, if they were lucky enough to possess that much-coveted article.

Presently the whole line halted and collected in a clearing, spreading wild banana leaves to sit upon. A native never sits on the bare ground if he can help it. The boys who were wearing *upi* made elaborate covers for them with leaves, because it would not do for the novices to see them before they had received their own. The older men rubbed lime over their faces. One man produced a tin of talcum powder, which was passed round, its contents being daubed on foreheads and cheeks. Another was the envied possessor of a pot of brilliantine, which he daubed under his armpits with evident pleasure. They hung a wreath of aromatic plants round my neck, which I appreciated as evidence that they did not resent my presence. Presently the sound of a bull-roarer was heard in the distance. I was told that this was the voice of the *arar*, and that we should presently see them. Before moving on, each man carefully whipped with the large leaves of the wild banana the

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place where he had been sitting, and hid the leaves in the bush. This was done to guard against the possibility of any one making bad magic against them at that place.

Very soon we came to a broad track newly cleared, or rather hacked out, for fallen trees, banana bushes, and creepers still covered it, making progress difficult. This destruction is supposed to be the work of the *urar*, and is intended to impress the women, who will presently pass that way, with their tremendous power. This proved also to be the explanation of the destruction of the areca-palms the night before. We climbed over or pushed our way through the tangle for a short distance, and then came to a broader clearing, where some large trees had been cut down. There we found a third platform laden with food. Before it was divided a sham fight took place, with much shouting and stamping and clashing of weapons.

From this place onwards the trail had not been cut, so some of the men went in front to clear it. They certainly did a thorough job, strewing trees and bush-tangle over a track about ten feet wide. The young men in front carried a long piece of rattan. When they came to a tree, they tied one end round the trunk, put considerable man-power on the other end, and tugged at the rattan line until the tree fell. If it offered too much resistance, they hacked at its trunk with axes, but most of the trees were soft-timbered, so it was not such a laborious undertaking as it looked. As each tree fell, its branches were lopped sufficiently to allow the crowd coming behind to scramble over it, then the vanguard went on to the next tree, slashing down all the bush tangle in their way. The result was certainly calculated to impress the uninitiated with the power of the *urar* supposed to be responsible for all this destruction.

Presently we came to a large clearing, also freshly cut. Here a man standing on a fallen tree trunk was swinging a bull-roarer. He had another in his left hand, slightly smaller; this he used alternately with the first.

As we went on we were shown stones lodged high up in the forks of trees, said to be thrown there by the *urar*, and, in two places, big holes in the ground about six feet apart, his footprints. These were to be duly pointed out to the women when they passed that way at a later stage in the proceedings.

Finally, we crossed a river for the third time. On the bank a halt was called while the long piece of rattan that had been used

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881 in pulling down the trees was cut up into small bits and thrown
574 into the stream. The men were particularly careful not to let any
487 of the pieces get lodged behind boulders, but pushed them all out so that they were carried downstream, in order to obliterate all signs of human agency in the destruction along the way.

881 After crossing the river we went up a steep hill to a large clearing
574 near the top. This place was called Kuruwiowan, and had been cleared especially for this ceremony. When another group wishes to hold a similar ceremony, another site must be selected and cleared. The place was well chosen. The ground still sloped upward slightly, and also fell away on one side, leading to a steep hill going down to a narrow valley through which a small stream was running, with another steep rise on the further side. A few trees were left standing in the main clearing, and a trail was cut down one of the hill-sides. Round the edge of the main clearing were smaller ones with rough shelters of poles and banana leaves; inside some of these there were men munching taro.

The crowd that came with us rushed up the hill shouting and brandishing their weapons; turned and rushed down again; divided into two halves which charged each other. Some men appeared carrying joints of roast pig, baskets of taro, and coconuts. They took the food up the hill and put it into a shed at the top, where a crowd of visitors promptly fell upon it. Presently there was more shouting and wild charging. A band of men from Kuruwa had arrived and were being welcomed in the prescribed manner. Another band, from Raua, came behind them, only to find that the first comers had eaten all the food. For a moment it looked as though the mock fight was going to become a
881 real one. This is not uncommon. I learned from Pinari later that
574 in the olden days, if the amount of food provided was insuffi-
579 cient, the guests retaliated by killing the hosts, including the
177 women and children, burning their houses, cutting down their coco-nut trees, and spearing their pigs. Nowadays, since the fear of the District Officer is upon them, they mostly content themselves with growling and cutting down coco-nut trees. Up in the hills, however, they are less amenable to discipline than on the coast, and if the mob now assembled had really got
881 angry there might have been trouble. But being promised that
574 more food should be forthcoming, the new-comers joined the others in the sham combats that took place at short intervals, as

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soon as the participants had recovered their breath after the last effort. Sometimes two sides charged each other, sometimes one or other party marched round a big tree in the centre of the ground, stamping and gesticulating wildly. Their rushes were very dramatic. Some had feather head-dresses, or bunches of bright-coloured parrot feathers in their hair, which, with the paint on their faces and the green leaves covering the upi, added to the effect. Many of the boys did not succeed in keeping their *upi* on their heads, but as there were no women present, they were not much concerned. It was the first time I had had an opportunity of seeing any boys without their head-gear. The hair of many of them fell below their waists, that of others, who had not worn the *upi* for so long, reached only to the shoulders.

After three or four such rushes in quick succession, there was a long wait, everybody in excited suspense. Then a man standing near me said: 'The *urar* are coming now.' Up the hill came a crowd of men, accompanied by two huge figures resembling the giant figures at carnivals. Each was carried by a man walking underneath it, the upper part of his body being inside the body of the figure. One wore a very large *upi* with an elaborate pattern in red and white. The face was roughly carved of wood, blackened and highly polished. The eyes were large and round, made, apparently, of a pair of trade spectacles. The mouths of both were wide open, that of the second had a large tongue showing. They represented a married couple, the one without the *upi* being the woman; her mouth was open because she was crying over her children, as the women cry when their boys are taken from them to go into the bush for the period of isolation prior to this ceremony. The bodies of both figures were covered with long strands of human hair, cut from the heads of previous *upi* wearers at the *wasipsip* ceremony. In the centre of the body was a slit through which the man carrying the figure could see where he was going. The figures finished off in a straight line just below the waist of the men carrying them, whose legs were not concealed at all. The female figure had no breasts represented,[1] and was indistinguishable from the male except for the absence of the *upi*. The hands were of wood, raised on each side, with the arms, which

[1] This is noteworthy, as physical details are usually portrayed with great realism on the representations of the human form made by these people. It may have reference to the legend of origin of the *upi* given on p. 194.

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A SECOND *WAPI* CEREMONY

Towards the end of my residence at Kurtatchi I had another opportunity of seeing the *wapi* ceremony, performed by the group of villages in the mountains behind the north-eastern corner of the island. The people of Kurtatchi were invited as guests, and Pinari made no objection to my accompanying them. Our party consisted of eight men, five of the bigger *upi* boys, and myself. The journey was considered too long for the smaller boys. We spent the night at Baniu. Next day we were joined by parties of men and boys from several coast villages and one from the hills. The hill-men were regarded with great suspicion by the coast people, who took care to keep well behind them. We walked to the accompaniment of much shouting and yelling and blowing of conch-shells. All were armed, with bows and arrows, knives, axes or spears; those who had no weapons cut themselves lengths of bamboo to serve as spears. Pinari cut one for me, saying that he was afraid the people of the mountains would be angry with him for having brought a woman, so I had better be a man for the occasion. He enjoined me to keep close to him and to do exactly as he did. Some time after passing through Raua Plantation we turned inland.

We were quite a large party when, after scrambling up a steep and slippery hill-side, we finally reached the appointed spot, a cleared place in the heart of the forest. We arrived in the prescribed manner, in a rush, brandishing our weapons, sounding conch-shells, and yelling at the tops of our voices, and were met by a similar party of those who had arrived before us, with the usual mock combat. There were a few moments of great excitement, the crowd now numbering several hundred.

The mountain people, as they appeared at this ceremony, certainly were a wild-looking lot. They have not adopted the fashion of wearing a loin-cloth, now almost universal along the coast, and many of them had not even the usual belt of string or leaves. Nearly all, old and young, had their faces painted in weird patterns of red and white; some had a smear of colour all round their eyes, some a series of white lines drawn obliquely across their cheeks, some had patterns carried out in dots. Several wore head-dresses made of feathers. The adolescent boys belonging to this group had been through the *watawutf* ceremony, and so were permitted to remove their *upi*, and most of them had done

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The men from other villages who took part, by invitation, in the *wapi* ceremony, are not invited to these subsidiary ceremonies, which are for the villages of the *upi* group only. But after a suitable interval, usually about a month, there is a feast called *sinēv*, to give food to all the people who attended the *wapi*, in return for their presence and the part they took in shouting and attacking. This is accompanied by a *kōma*. The food, as usual, is not all consumed at the time, but large quantities are given to the guests to carry home with them.

REGULATIONS AND PROHIBITIONS FOR WEARERS OF THE *UPI* DURING THE PERIOD BETWEEN THE *WAPI* AND THE *WATA-WU'TJ* CEREMONIES

I. *Concerning women.*

Boys wearing the *upi* may not go into any house where a woman lives, not even their own mother's. Their female relatives may prepare their food, but it must be handed out to them through the door at the *tagoan* (men's verandah). A boy breaking this rule would, in the olden days, have been killed, and his body eaten by the older men. Now they would 'make poison' against him and his father and mother, so that all three would die. This taboo on entering a woman's hut is still most meticulously kept.

They may not sit on the *babots* (women's verandah) or go round to that side of the line of huts.

They may not play with the girls and women in communal games, or join a group of which women form part. For example, they were not allowed to join the groups of story-tellers on my verandah whenever there were women present, so in order to induce the women to share in the story-telling I had to fix certain nights on which the *upi* boys were not allowed to come.

It is a very serious offence for a boy wearing the *upi* to indulge in sexual intercourse. One or two cases known to my informants were spoken of with the same horror and disgust—which I think was genuine—as was accorded to the worst type of incest. Punishment in the olden days was death for both parties. They said that until recently such a thing was unheard of—that is as it may be. But I am pretty certain that this taboo is still strictly observed, with rare exceptions. The following incident, however, is perhaps worth recording for its bearing on this matter. One evening when

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to be done she refused to go, saying it was dangerous to walk about on that day. The *pa'i* were brought to within about half a mile of the village. They were covered with leaves, and from them depended all sorts of creepers and ornamental plants, especially the split leaves of the *win* palm, of which the *upi* are made. They were laid upon forked sticks set up in the ground to a height of about 3 feet. There they remained for three days, until enough opossums had been caught and smoked to provide a feast following their arrival in the village.

On the afternoon of the third day, just before dusk, a crowd of men and *upi* boys went out, to the accompaniment of the sound of the *mabu* and much blowing of conch-shells, to meet the Tabut people, who were bringing in one *pa'i*. There were several rushes, and pretence of fighting, and much shouting when it finally reached the village and was placed upon a stand that had been prepared for it in the central space, near the *tobar*. Then all the men and boys from both villages congregated in front of Pinari's largest hut. Here they held a short *kōma*. Then they went back to the *tobar*. Presently the people of Ruri came up with the areca-palm planks they had prepared for the making of the verandah of the 'long house'. These were also swathed in leaves, and were received with another mock fight, followed by another *kōma*. Then the people of Sēlō, a group of villages farther along the road to the west, came up with two more *pa'i* and were received in the same fashion. After this all the men and boys sat round and ate pig and opossum and ceremonial pudding. The materials for chewing the betel-mixture were distributed in large quantities. There was a general air of tension about the whole proceedings, and Pinari was careful to impress upon me the importance of the occasion.

All the women were obliged to stay inside their huts, with the entrance closed, while all this was going on. They kept up a perpetual howling until the *kōma* was over and the men had settled down to eat pig and to chew the betel-mixture. The howling is done because their husbands and sons are engaged upon a very dangerous proceeding, and they are afraid that some of the *upi* boys will die.

The boys wearing the *upi*, for whose benefit all these preparations were being made, held a *kōma* later in the evening, no one else taking any part in it. It did not last very long (Pl. 30*a*).

The *pa'i* remained on their stand, covered with leaves and

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they wanted the *tsunaun* to see the hats they had made. All the men who were *tsunaun* said: 'They are good. You go now and eat some pig. You are making very sacred things.'

The teller of this story volunteered the statement that nowadays, if a woman behaved as did the woman in the tale, they would not be able to kill her, because the Government had forbidden it. They would all have intercourse with her, and then somebody would 'make poison' against her and she would die, but it would not be known who was responsible for her death.

PRELIMINARIES

When all the preparations are complete, a hut is built in the bush, and the boys must sleep there for two nights. The *amro* accompany them. During this time the boys are not allowed to eat anything except one small piece of taro. The reason given for this abstinence is that if they were to eat too much they would be too heavy to be carried on the shoulders of the *amro* during the ceremony.

While the boys are in the bush, the people of the village where the *watawutf* is to be held set up platforms in the centre of the village and cover them with food. All the villages which are sending boys to the ceremony help in providing this food. Vast quantities are required, as people come from villages scattered over a wide area. At the one to be held at Kurtatchi they were expecting contingents from the whole of the north coast of Bougainville and all the islands of Buka. Failure to provide enough food for the assembled multitude would in the olden days have resulted in a fight ending in the breaking up of the village, and even now resentment would be shown by wanton damage to taro crops and coco-nut palms, if nothing worse.

Meanwhile, a palisade has been erected round the 'long house', so high that the women cannot see over it. Then the men go into the bush and fetch two tall trees. Young canarium almonds are frequently chosen for this purpose, owing to their tall slender trunks, though they are not felled under ordinary circumstances, as their nuts are highly prized as an article of diet. If there is a *wapi* ceremony going on anywhere in the neighbourhood, these trees must be pulled up by the roots instead of being felled, otherwise the *urar* who are about in the bush will be angry.

The selected trees are called *roror*. They are brought near, but

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881 children must accompany her, also wearing a hood. During this time she must not handle fire. (This involves her abstinence from [276] smoking, which is a very great hardship.)

After sleeping for the fifth night the prohibition on handling fire is over. She is given a drink, which she must drink when no one is [272 824] looking. It consists of the milk of a green coco-nut mixed with the leaves of certain plants (specimens of these were given to me, with their native names, but have not been identified). She and her two [302] companions have their heads painted red with *owan*, and their foreheads outlined with white (*wiwi*).

All the women *kōma*, the conch-shell is sounded, and the slit-gong is beaten in this rhythm:

[533] /// .. /// .. /// .. /// .. /// .. ///, &c.

The girl does not join in the *kōma*, she stays in the house. All the women call out: 'To-morrow we shall eat a big pig. It will be cut into pieces.' Each of them calls out which part of the pig she would like for herself: 'I want its head.' 'I want its neck.' 'I want its leg.' 'I want its hind quarters,' and so on.

881 Then word is sent to the neighbouring villages. For example, for a girl living at Kurtatchi a woman will be sent to Ruri and one • 574 to Tabut, telling the people there to collect taro to make ceremonial pudding. They prepare packages of ceremonial pudding and cook them, and bring them to the village. Every woman who can possibly manage it will accept this invitation.

881 Next day, before dawn, the women of the village in which the girl lives go and cut down a banana palm which has a bunch of 824 nearly ripe bananas on it. (This is a special kind of banana called *pias a mon* (*pias* = climb a tree, *mon* = woman). Its fruit may never be eaten by boys wearing the *upi*.) They cut down the tree close to the ground, with the fruit and leaves remaining on it. This must be done while it is still dark. They bring the tree back to the village, and lay it on the ground near the girl's hut.

As dawn is breaking, the banana palm is stuck in the ground in front of the girl's hut, at the *tagoan*. The women bring a quantity of certain young plants and saplings (the only two which I could identify were sugar-cane and canarium almond). These must not be cut, but pulled up by the roots, and are planted in front of the hut in two rows, making an avenue between the banana tree and the hut.

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881 mother's hut. Nawi's mother allowed me to keep one of them
292 (see Pl. 75).

FINAL PART OF CEREMONY FOR MUBEN

881 It sometimes happens that a girl is married, and actually sleeps
582 with her husband, before the onset of her first menstrual period. This was the case with Muben, wife of Kakari, whose marriage took place just prior to my period of residence. Her first flux occurred shortly afterwards. As soon as her mother heard of it, she sent for Muben to return to her own village of Baniu for the
574 banana-palm ceremony. Unfortunately, this was over before I went to Kurtatchi. But during the first few days of my stay, several of the women of Kurtatchi went to Baniu to bring her back after the conclusion of the ceremony, and on this trip I accompanied them. The final dance took place on the evening of our arrival. When we reached the village, all the men were busy making cere-
292 monial pudding for us. The bride was dressed in a belt of cane, three white strands and three red ones, from which a bunch of leaves depended in front. She wore no loin-cloth. Another girl, who looked slightly younger, was similarly attired. She was undergoing the ceremony for her first menstruation with Muben, who was of the same clan, but in her case it was not accompanied by marriage.

I was invited to sit on the women's verandah of the hut belonging to the bride's mother. For a long time nothing happened. We passed the time by munching taro and playing at cat's cradles. Long after dark, the sound of Pan-pipes and *mabu* was heard on the other side of the house. Nobody moved. They told me that the men and boys had it all to themselves at first, and that they would come and fetch us afterwards.

881 Presently the two girls concerned went into the hut and were
292 made ready by their mothers, helped by their mothers' sisters. When they came out, a little procession was formed, the men and boys with their instruments in front, the two girls following, and then all the rest of the women and children. The two girls had long bunches of leaves stuck into their cane girdles, they wore the usual woman's hood on their heads, but into the tops of the hoods there were stuck white feathers from the tail of the hornbill. Round their waists was a cord from which hung a rattle made of shell.
302 A long streak of white outlined each temple and the forehead.

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The group of men and boys formed itself into the usual wheel formation and continued to play on the pipes. The little procession of women walked round them twice. After this it broke up; the two girls went back to the hut and took off their hoods, sticking the hornbill feathers into their hair. Then all the women joined in the dance in the usual way, in twos and threes, backwards and forwards with a kind of balancing movement, varied by a hop 'on the spot'. This went on for some time, but not all night.

The next day the two girls appeared still dressed in their cane girdles, which were now, however, worn on the top of loin-cloths. Their hair was still covered with black paint, but they had washed off the white outlines from forehead and temple. I made a tentative suggestion that I should like to photograph them as they had appeared at the ceremony the night before, but this was met with a polite but firm refusal from the older people. 'That is finished.' After the usual delays, we started on our journey back to Kurtatchi, taking Muben with us. All the Kurtatchi women were heavily loaded with taro and packets of ceremonial pudding. Quite a crowd of the Baniu people accompanied us round the beach to the foot of the cliff, where we sat on the sand for a little while before starting up it. As we went up the cliff path Muben's mother and mother's sister set up a wail. It was quite clearly a piece of ritual, but it seemed to me that there was real grief there as well, and Muben certainly had tears in her eyes when I walked beside her at the top of the cliff. She was obviously making a great effort to control them sufficiently to answer the teasing remarks which one of the men would persist in addressing to her.

CHANGE OF NAME AFTER MENSTRUATION CEREMONY

It is customary that after she has experienced her first menstruation, a girl should be given another name; the former one is then supposed to be taboo. Muben was given the name of Buin, but I never heard her called by it, every one continuing to use the name by which she had been known before. The custom seems not to be considered of great importance, and I never heard of any other name being given to Nawi, the old one being used as before.

VARIATIONS

As in the boys' ceremony, the time involved seems to have been curtailed considerably of late. In the account given by the women,

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oven prepared as above described. The scrapings of the coco-nut from which the liquid has been squeezed are eaten with great relish by the pigs. When thoroughly cooked, the packages are removed from the oven and kept in their wrappings until required for use, but they will not remain good for more than a few hours, so must be made not earlier than the day before they are required. When made up in the form of balls, the pudding is called *arorov*, in the form of the flat slabs which come out of the frames it is known as *menak*, or both kinds may be referred to as *kokoin*, a word which belongs to another dialect but is current throughout the area, being used in speaking pidgin-English.

This ceremonial pudding is the indispensable adjunct of every special occasion. It is either consumed on the spot, or given to visiting parties to take home with them. Presents of it are taken by guests to their host, who is required to reciprocate with similar packages on some future occasion. It is sometimes made especially for some individual as a mark of honour. Taro cooked in the ordinary way is always eaten along with it, as we eat bread with with some rather richly prepared dish. *Menak* is also made by using crushed canarium almonds instead of coco-nuts. This is considered a very great delicacy; it can be enjoyed only while the almonds are available.

Sweet potato and yam. These do not grow so readily here as in other parts of Bougainville, and are considered rather as a change from taro when they happen to be procurable, perhaps from other places by barter, than as staples of diet. I saw no yam vines equal in size or quantity to those of the mountain villages behind Kieta; the natives of the north coast say the soil is not very suitable for them. They are cooked in the same manner as taro, i.e. either boiled or roasted, but are not greatly enjoyed, being tough and stringy.

Bread-fruit (*Artocarpus*, several species) is very much liked while it is available, making a welcome change from taro, which is eaten in smaller quantities during the bread-fruit season. The trees seem to be in bearing almost continuously, one crop starting after the other has fallen, but they take some time to ripen, so that the fruit is not always ready. During my year of residence bread-fruit was eaten in October and in January, but the time when it was most plentiful was during July and August. At the end of the latter month in walking through rather unfrequented portions

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524 a coco-nut palm is hung up on a branch, and the tops are thrown at it. There are also competitions to see whose top spins longest. The grown men join the children in this game, but the women are [562 not allowed to play it. After this top spinning becomes general; 184] it is not played for some time previously. (At Petats they did not observe this rule.)

574 The 'time of the almond' is also made the occasion for reciprocal feasts between friendly villages, which have more of a social than of a ceremonial character. The older men will say to the boys: 'You fellows go and get a lot of almonds and make a Tukis.' (Tukis is the name of a group of tiny creatures somewhat similar to our hobgoblins; they are discussed in Chapter XV.) So the boys go to the bush and collect a great quantity of nuts, and bring them to the village, and arrange them on the ground in the central space, in the form of a man; they make his head, and his body, and his arms, and his legs. Then the people of the village all paint themselves with [302 red and black paint, and they play Pan-pipes, and walk round as 533] they do at a *kōma*, while they are cracking the nuts. This is one of the very few occasions on which they *kōma* in daylight; usually it is only done at night. They invite the people of a neighbouring village, who all come with Pan-pipes and join in the *kōma*. Then every one feasts on the nuts. A short time after, the village which was thus invited gives a similar feast in its turn, and asks the people of the former village. After this, if the boys, who naturally much enjoy these festive occasions, ask the *tsunain* if they may have another, they are told: 'No, our guests have returned the one we gave before, we cannot have another now.'

262 Most of the many varieties of bananas are eaten either raw or 252 cooked, but there are some, including one very large plantain (*kag*), which are not palatable until cooked. These are usually boiled in a pot, skin and all. A smaller yellow kind (*tomra*) is usually skinned before being laid on hot embers to roast.

177 Oranges and limes grow in the vicinity of most villages and are much appreciated by the natives. They are always eaten raw. 262 The oranges do not change colour when ripe, but remain green; the inside is pale, somewhat resembling the colour of a grape-fruit. They are sweet and juicy. I understand that they are not indigenous, as is also the case with the pawpaw (*Carica Papaya*). This is eaten raw, like a melon, and generally while still, according to our ideas, very far from ripe.

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Mangoes grow in the bush, but do not, so far as I know, receive any attention, though the locality of each tree is known. When passing anywhere near one, most people will turn aside to gather the fruit. They like to dip it into their lime-pot before taking a bite; this is said to add to the flavour. 222 262

Pumpkins and some forms of marrow grow in the taro garden, and in some places are found wild in the bush; possibly these are escapes. They were sometimes offered to me, but are not much used or liked. 244 262

Sugar-cane is available. Bits of it are sucked with great relish. It is tough and stringy and not very sweet; probably it suffers from lack of attention. No use is made of it except to suck sections of the cane as we eat sweets. 263

The long narrow fruit of the small-leaved mangrove (*parū*), which goes red when it is ripe, is collected, skinned, and put into a basket, then it is left in the sea overnight; next morning it is washed in fresh water, boiled, and eaten as a relish, with coco-nut meat. 222 252 262

A small Chili pepper (*nubo*) is used to flavour the water in which other food has been boiled, this liquid is then partaken of at the meal. 263

2. *Flesh food*

Unless some one chances to kill a wild pig in casual hunting, pig-meat is a luxury reserved for special occasions. Domestic pigs are never killed except for a feast of considerable importance. The prestige of an important feast depends upon the number of pigs that have been killed for it. If enough cannot be procured from the village supply, or caught by the hunters, the natives will, at the present time, pay as much as £10 or £12 of our money—earned as wages in serving as indentured labourers—to a trader or planter who will sell them one. 262 574 439 [435]

Unless they have been wounded, wild pigs caught in the bush are generally brought into the village alive. The method of carrying them is to tie the forelegs together, and the hind legs together, and swing the animal on a pole put between the legs. A pig will perhaps be brought in thus in the morning, thrown down on the ground near a hut, and left there for hours until the men are ready to kill it. Killing is usually done by plunging a spear into the animal's body just behind the uppermost foreleg, as it lies on its 224 [462]

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lime is made from coral, branched coral being preferred

preparation is the work of the women, and consists of burning the coral with a minimum of slaking. The work is carried on in the recesses of the bush, the place being kept secret and no men permitted to approach it. Large quantities are prepared at a time, at infrequent intervals.

Areca-nut and betel-pepper must be provided in abundance on every ceremonial occasion, and are always given to visitors from other villages to take home with them on their return. Each individual carries his own supply of lime, or begs a dip from his neighbour; it is not provided with the other ingredients. When in his own village the chewer of the betel-mixture will freely fling the skins about on the ground, to be swept up by the women in the course of their cleaning. They are thrown away in any convenient spot, in the case of villages on the cliff top generally over the cliff, or they may be burnt. There does not appear to be any special place for disposing of them, as is described by Ivens (1927, p. 287) for the SE. Solomons. But when on a visit to another village, particularly to one in the mountains, where there is always a feeling that the people are not to be trusted, the skins are carefully put into the little basket which everybody carries, and brought away, lest an enemy should use them for making 'bad medicine'.

Branches of areca-nuts are carried by the messengers sent out by the *tsunaun* to summon people to a ceremony. (Cf. Ivens, 1927, p. 288.)

The natives say that chewing the betel-mixture 'makes them feel strong'. I can testify that when they have plenty to chew they are livelier and more inclined to talk. It is known to them that people who chew too much of it are apt to fall into a slightly dazed and stupid condition, and there are a very few who do not like the effect it has upon them and therefore avoid it. The majority, however, obviously feel lost without it, like an inveterate smoker left without tobacco.

STORIES OF THE ORIGIN OF VARIOUS FOODSTUFFS

Among my collection of stories there is a large number explaining how the people came to be possessed of, or to learn to use, certain of their foodstuffs. Many of these turn on the activities of the famous 'two brothers', and are connected with a widespread series extending over a large part of the Pacific (see references in my paper on Folk-tales, 1932, p. 74). As the stories are in most cases

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and its eyes cleared of any foreign matter, and a small portion of the magic mixture is placed in its mouth. This is to ensure that their eyes may see the hooks and their mouths hold the fish-hooks securely. 226

The steersmen and the men holding the bamboos chew the mixture while out in the *mon*, mixing it with betel-nut. The chewing of the mixture has a deteriorating effect upon the teeth. [164] (Sowi's teeth appeared in a decayed state, as though an acid had eaten away the enamel.)

When the catch is made all the *mon* converge to the spot where the medicine man is seated, and he then counts the fish, taking one from each *mon* for himself. With these fish he afterwards makes a small feast. Payment made to the medicine man for working the magic is not retained by him but expended upon food for a feast amongst his relations. [574]

It is customary that one man of each totem in a village has a knowledge of working the *atūn* charm. At present on Pororan there is only one man who has the knowledge. He is of the Kekeliau totem. The Naboin man has died without passing his knowledge on. 226 791

All the *tokamu* used in other parts of Buka come from Pororan, and the instruction is given by the man Sowi. His assistant is Hulaswat, who in turn will become the chief medicine man.

Other forms of bonito magic.

Besides the magic just described, which is intended to bring shoals of bonito into home waters, there are also numerous 'prescriptions' for obtaining a good catch for yourself or your own canoe. A selection of those in my collection is here given. The first comes from Petats, the others from Kurtatchi: 226

Bai'ia (a creeper, growing in the bush). (Petats dialect.)

Go to the bush and get some *bai'ia*. There are two kinds of *bai'ia*; only one of these will do, it is called *bai'ia hihisi holot*. Bring it to the house. Stick the fishing-rod (*hiat*) into the ground in front of the house, so that it stands up over the house. Get the leaf of a kind of betel-pepper, not the same as is eaten with areca-nut but something like it. Chew it with areca-nut and lime; it makes the saliva red just the same as the real betel-pepper. Spit it out on to the *hiat*. 226 824

When you go to the bush to get the *bai'ia* you must go straight to it, walking quickly; you must not linger by the way. You must not search for it, but go straight to the place where it grows, and pull it hard. As you pull it up, call out: '*Atūn Pi*'.

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its head men when they require to visit the Government Station at Buka Passage, as they are called upon to do on the occasions of the annual visit of the Administrator (see Pl. 1 *a*).

There is a special series of terms for designating the size of a *mon* according to the number of *poan*:

koak, small *mon* for children to play with, or large enough for one man.
poboak,[1] *mon* with two *poan*, i.e. suitable for two paddlers and a steersman. May be used for bonito fishing.
pokuhan, *mon* with three *poan*, the size usual for bonito fishing.
potana, *mon* with four *poan*.
potonim, *mon* with five *poan*.
potonom, *mon* with six *poan*.
posawun, *mon* with ten *poan*, the largest now made.

Dimensions of *mon* with three *poan*

Length, 27 ft. 4 in. from bow to stern.
Width, 3 ft. at widest part, in the middle (inside edge of *warin*).
Width of planks, about ½ in.
Depth of side plank (*warin*), i.e. total height above water, 1 ft.
Length of *waisinan*, 6 ft. 9 in., of which pattern extended for 3 ft. 6 in.
Floor, 5 planks each about 6 in. wide.

Launching of mon. Canoes are never given names. When a new *mon* is put into the water for the first time, it is carried down to the shore, from the shelter where it has been during the later stages of its construction, on the shoulders of some of the men who have worked upon it. I have seen a small one (with three *poan*) carried on the shoulders of two men. A crew of men and boys man it, and it is taken out a short distance, paddled round for a while, and then brought in and put into the shed which has been prepared for it on the shore. The men concerned in the making of it then meet in the men's house and eat ceremonial pudding which the owner of the *mon* and his friends have previously prepared. If there is any over when they have all eaten as much as they wish, they send it to their womenfolk, who eat it in their own quarters. The men who have helped in the making of a *mon* receive no payment other than this feast, but when they wish to make one for themselves they would call upon the owner for his help in turn. Any man may own a *mon*; I never heard of a woman doing so. As the labour of making

[1] These words are made up of *po* (for *poan*) prefixed to the ordinary numerals.

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pirpo	lower of two cross-pieces at ends of hut, and across at each house-post. Any kind of wood may be used for these.
tokoman	upper of two cross-pieces at ends and at house-posts.
a tō	sago palm whose leaves are used for thatch. Thatch also called *a tō*.
nin	outer bark of stem of plant of that name used to tie sheets of thatch to the *walwal*.
gerom or *girum*	mid-rib of sago-palm leaf, used to fix leaves together in lengths to make thatch.
tʃir a tō	to prepare the sago-palm leaves by taking out the mid-rib.
kisib	to make the holes for fixing the leaves together.
tʃiku a tō	to fix the leaves together into lengths ready to put on.

The men's house.

The men's house (*tobár*) is made in exactly the same way as the ordinary huts of the village; the size varies according to the number of people who are likely to use it. Besides serving as the sleeping apartment for the boys wearing the *upi*, the *tobár* is the men's club; its front verandah is seldom without a group of men sitting or standing round talking and chewing the betel mixture. To it male guests from other villages are taken on their arrival, each to the *tobár* of the clan to which he belongs.

The *tobár*, two or more, as the case may be, are sometimes placed just outside the main line of huts, from which they may be screened by a hedge of trees or a bit of uncut bush. But often they are placed in the centre of the village, abutting on, or actually in the precincts of, the central space where dances are held. The three *tobár* of the original village of Kurtatchi were a little to one side of the village, and had special paths leading from them to the shore, which might not be used by women, who avoided their vicinity altogether. The two which were constructed after the moving of the village of Gomen to join that of Kurtatchi, were built at one end of the central space, between the two lines of huts added by the Gomen people. The hut of a man who had died was taken down to make room for them, the boys who had shared it with him being afraid to go on living there. Even in that prominent position, the *tobár* were strictly avoided by the women, who always made their way round by the back of the lines of huts.

Ceremony on completion of tobár. The completion of a new *tobár* is signalized by a feast involving the killing of several pigs,

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and if subsequently it is desired to enlarge its capacity by adding further sets of house-posts and thus increasing its length, a feast is held for each set of house-posts put in. A very large *tobár* may have as many as ten sets of posts. A man who wishes to build a *tobár* of his own must put up at least ten pigs, which form part of the feast on its completion. He may then invite youths and unattached men of his own clan, at his pleasure, to occupy it.

Beyond the preparation and eating of a quantity of ceremonial pudding, no feast was held for the two *tobár* erected at Kurtatchi during my stay, because they were not really new ones, but re-erected from the old site on the removal of the people from Gomen. I was, however, invited to be present at a feast made for a new men's house in the village of Tung, on the island of Buka, soon after my arrival in the district. As I had not then any working acquaintance with the language, and was a stranger to the village, I was not able to hold much discussion with the natives about the procedure, and can do little more than describe it.

On my arrival at the village, I found three pigs lying on the floor of the new men's house (called *dzuhan* in the Petats dialect, which closely resembles that spoken at Tung). They were tied to the house-posts. A fourth was brought over from Petats in a canoe and likewise tied up. Then the slit-gong was beaten; four single beats in slow time, indicating the number of pigs that were to be killed, and a large number of quick beats said to indicate the number of taros available for the feast. Nothing further transpired till after dark, when there was a *kōma* with slit-gong but no Pan-pipes. It lasted till a short time after daybreak.

The next day, several children, all belonging to the Manu clan, whose house it was, had their hair carefully trimmed and painted, with a broad band of red in the centre of the forehead running to the back of the head, a band of black on either side of this, and a narrow line of white outlining the edge of the hair on the forehead.

Meanwhile, several men came in from the bush blowing a conch-shell and carrying poles. One pole was very long and a tuft of leaves had been left growing at the end of it. This was stuck into the ground opposite the centre of the front of the men's house. The men stood in a circle round this, each holding one of the other posts. One man beat the slit-gong in a series of slow, distinct beats, and at each beat the men thrust the poles they held into the ground, till holes had been made deep enough to keep them upright.

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upright. They were then dropped into these holes and the earth pushed up round them. A band of rattan was passed round the circle of posts about half way up them. The posts were much longer at the back of the circle, nearest the house, than at the front, ranging from about 3 feet out of the ground at the back to about 1 foot at the front.

The four pigs which had been lying on the floor of the men's house since the previous day were now untied from the house-posts. Their feet were tied together ready for carrying, and a dab of red was put on their backs, just behind the head. Then for a long time nothing happened. Finally, it appeared that they were waiting because they had not enough men to carry the pigs. I asked if they would like my servant to help them, and this offer was accepted with pleasure, although he did not belong to the village. Two men went to each pig and took it up on a pole in the usual way. They lifted the pigs out of the house, carried them round outside the circle of sticks once, and then laid them down inside it, one between each post, the poles to which they were tied for carrying resting on the cane which encircled the posts, so that the backs of the pigs were touching the ground and their heads slightly raised above it, owing to the greater length of the posts at the back.

The children whose heads had been painted were now called, and told to stand on the front platform of the men's house, looking down on the pigs. There were ten of them, six boys and four girls, all under the age of ten or thereabouts. The smallest, a girl, looked hardly more than two; her mother stood below the platform holding her hand. Unfortunately, I have no information as to what was the reason for the appearance of the children, or why girls were included in a ceremony for the men's house, from which their sex is excluded.

[183]

Gonu, the old man who was responsible for the building of the house, then came up with some red paint in a coco-nut shell and put it on the pigs, round each leg and along the stomach, pulling at the skin as he laid it on. It was in the form of dry powder, not mixed with oil as it is when used on the head. A spear was then thrust into each pig in turn, entering its near fore-leg, not far enough to kill it, but enough to make it squeal. The four poles with the pigs tied to them were lifted off the cane circle and thrown on to the ground near by. Then they were picked up again one by one and thrown on to the ground at the four corners of the space

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in front of the men's house. One was put much farther away than the others: this was intended as a present to the next village, Pokar, and would be reciprocated on the next occasion at which pigs were killed in that village.

Three of the pigs were then killed and partially cooked, in the usual way (see p. 283). The joints were piled up on the back verandah of Gonu's own house, not the new men's house. In the afternoon some men from Pokar came and fetched the pig reserved for them away—alive—in a canoe.

A crowd of guests from other Buka villages then arrived, including a number of women with their babies. All were decorated with red paint on their hair and some with dabs on their faces. As soon as it was quite dark there was a *kōma* with slit-gong, *mabu*, and Pan-pipes, with much more excitement than there had been the day before, and more people dancing, including the visitors, both men and women. Most of the women wore bands of plaited fibre round their waists, from which were suspended tails of grass or pith, which they manipulated with their hands while dancing. The men had red paint and white cockatoo feathers in their hair, and bits of phosphorescent fungus on their cheeks and on the ends of the *mabu*. There were three of these instruments. I was told they had been borrowed from the neighbouring island of Matsungan, as the village of Tung did not possess any.

The *kōma* went on till after daybreak, in spite of a heavy downpour of rain which made their finery look very bedraggled, but did not seem to abate their eagerness to dance. When it was over, the players of the Pan-pipes threw them on the ground and stamped on them, breaking them all to pieces.

Baskets of taro had been distributed in the intervals of the dance, but the pigs were not eaten till the following day. The joints had been distributed among the various houses to be cooked; these were all brought out and laid on the platform which ran the whole length of the men's house, together with a large quantity of taro, all in baskets made of plaited coco-nut leaves. The display was of great importance, and my attention was called to the quantity produced, which I was clearly expected to admire. All the members of Gonu's clan, Manu, sat inside the house, on the floor and on the platform, where I was also given a seat. Separate baskets of pig-meat and taro were put in front of each little group, who ate the contents at their leisure. Baskets were sent to members of the

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other clan resident in the village, but these were not allowed to eat in the house. The women of the Manu clan ate on the back verandah, outside the house. This is the only occasion on which women may come to the men's house. When all the provisions had either been eaten or packed up to take home, the people dispersed.

In accordance with the practice of making the most of an occasion, this feast, which was primarily intended for the new men's house, was also made to serve for the burying of the pillow belonging to Gonu's father, and for the piercing of the nasal septum of four boys who had reached the appropriate age. Both of these proceedings are described elsewhere (pp. 492 and 425).

Fire-making

Fire is made by the stick and groove method (Pl. 57). A stick of hard wood, whittled to a point—now by a trade knife, but formerly by means of a black-lip oyster-shell or with the teeth, is rubbed along a larger piece of soft wood, held down firmly, on the ground or on a log, by a second person. The person rubbing crosses his fingers over the rubbing-stick and moves it up and down using considerable pressure, till a groove is formed in the softer wood below. The dust rubbed away is pushed into a heap at the far end of the groove by means of a splinter. No other tinder is used. The time required varies considerably with the skill of the performer, but a spark is usually produced in a few seconds. The spark is then blown very carefully until the sawdust at the end of the groove ignites.

Several kinds of trees were named as being suitable for both the rubbing-stick and the grooved stick. It is essential that one should be hard and the other soft, and that the wood used for the grooved stick should have a straight grain.

TERMS USED IN CONNEXION WITH FIRE-MAKING

Term	*Explanation*
tura	fire.
io to ium no tura	I make fire by rubbing.
wakō	to hold the stick on which the other man is rubbing. This stick has no special name.
wenium	the pointed stick with which the rubbing is done.
kawu	the sawdust produced by the rubbing, which becomes the tinder.

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this involves some skill on the part of the beaters, and no small amount of muscular energy is also required to give the necessary volume of sound, so that if a *kōma* continues for hours together, as it usually does, several men must take turns at beating the rhythm. 533

For sending messages only one *garamuts* is used, the largest in the village, which is usually to be found in the portico of the most important *tunuan*'s house. The sound carries for several miles. I have known people to be recalled to the village by it from a taro garden at least four miles away, and have no doubt that the sound can be heard for much longer distances, given suitable atmospheric conditions. 202 [565]

The method differs from that used with the 'talking drums' of West Africa, which reproduce messages of any kind by means of tonal differences. The slit-gong sends only certain recognized messages, using a kind of Morse code of long and short beats. These signals differ in different localities. A number of those in use on the island of Pororan are given by Gordon Thomas (1931, p. 225). Some of the chief signals in use at Kurtatchi are as follows:

1. Visit of some one of importance:

// // // // // // // // // //

Any one working in the taro garden when this signal is heard at once returns to the village. It is, therefore, used also if the presence, say, of the *tunuan* is urgently required. It will be used if the report arrives that the District Officer is on his way to the village.

2. To announce the death of a person of rank: [565 763]

...| ...| ...| ...| ...| ...| .....
/ // // ...//

The *garamuts* is not beaten at the death of commoners.

3. At the end of the women's special dance at funerary rites for a *tunuan*:

//// .. /..|..|..////..|..|..|..////

4. To announce a feast:

//.....|.....|..... .... /.//.//.///////// [574]
.....////// ●

5. To announce the end of a feast:

/// ....
/ ...|...//...//..//.//.|.|

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yards west of the site of the present village. A big stone called *Musoa banui* marks the place.

When the cutting is finished, the skin is first washed, then lime is rubbed in. *Tanek* (betel-pepper) is chewed and spat upon the place. Then a dry coco-nut is scraped, and a pinch of the scraped meat is taken between the finger and thumb of the operator and dabbed on to the sores. This is to make the scab of the sore come off so that it will not fester underneath. If the sore becomes septic, coco-nut oil is rubbed into it, and pith from the stem of the plant *rurupari*. If the cuts are made too deep, they 'break open the belly' and the child dies. The names of two Kurtatchi children who had died in this way were given to me.

When one child is finished, the man who has held his head takes him on his shoulder and goes round and round while all the women *kōma* and the slit-gong is beaten. The child is then taken into the house and another brought out.

After all the children have been cut there is a small feast. One pig is set aside for it, and the women prepare taro. The food is distributed among those present; they all eat; then the platform is taken up by the men and brought into the hut.

After the operation is finished, the children must stop inside the house for ten days, only coming out to relieve themselves. The girls must put on their hoods whenever they come out for this purpose. If they do not, or if children of either sex walk about too much, white ants will get into the sores and make them very painful. A girl who is cut about the thighs is so sore that she cannot bear to wear a loin-cloth, but goes naked.

As a rule, several children are cut at one time, both boys and girls. Naniu, Tapē, Bori, Puta, and Tawar were all cut together. This indicates that the ages vary considerably, since Maniu and Tawar are now, I estimate, about 9 or 10, Bori about 19, and Tapē and Puta somewhat older then Bori. It is best to have the operation done when the child is young. Some are cut much later and are sometimes made very ill by it.

The effect of the operation can be seen from the photographs (Pls. 69, 70). Not infrequently the wounds become septic and heal badly, with results which we should think very disfiguring, but which do not seem to be so considered by the natives, though they are not admired as much as well-marked patterns. By no means extreme cases of badly healed cicatrization are shown in Pl. 71.

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or even made especially, to be used as a medium of exchange is only doubtfully represented, since tobacco is smoked, and the strings of shell disks function also as ornaments. The strings of teeth may perhaps approximate to it, since they are made to serve as valuables and are worn only very exceptionally for ceremonial purposes. But they are not quite typical of the 'money' stage, because they have a ceremonial significance, and are reserved for use on certain specified occasions, and because some are regarded as heirlooms and would on no account be parted with by their owners. The recent introduction of English and Australian shillings by white planters and traders brings the area to the fourth stage, the use of coin, i.e. a medium of exchange authorized by the Government with a fixed value. This will probably spread till it has superseded the others, except perhaps the use of stick tobacco.

RECOMPENSE FOR SERVICES RENDERED

A man's friends will help him with a task which is more than he can compass alone, e.g. the building of a house or a canoe. Such services are voluntarily given, and are never withheld when asked for. But it is expected that the recipient will, in his turn, help those who have given their services when they are in similar need. As a rule, he will make a small feast to mark the completion of the work, at which all who have assisted him are presented with ceremonial pudding and taro (but not pig unless the occasion is a very special one). One such feast, for the completion of a *mon*, is described on p. 379. The canoe remains the personal property of the man who initiated its building. When it is taken out for bonito fishing, it is recognized that he has the first claim on the catch, and if only one fish is hooked it belongs to him. If there are several, he shares them with the men who went out with him; a large catch is distributed among the people of the village.

Women who attend at the funerary rites of a dead person to perform the ritual weeping are provided with food, both to eat at the time and to take back home with them. On one occasion some women from Kurtatchi went to the funeral of a child at Tabut; it was the second child that had died in the same family within a few days, and they said they went because they were sorry for the parents. Among them were the relatives of a lad who is betrothed to the sister of the dead children. They were presented with pots when they left. But it was explained to me that the pots were given

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because the Tabut people were sorry for the *ruanbē* (husband's parents) of Moras, the sister of the dead boys, and were not reward for the ritual weeping. Parties of women sometimes go to watch by a sick person; they will be given areca-nut and coco-nuts, some of which they will eat as they sit there; what remains will be carried home when they leave.

When guests are invited from distant villages to attend a ceremony it is customary to provide spreads of food, placed on platforms at intervals in the bush along the route, with which they can refresh themselves during the journey (*taran in a ken* means to prepare a spread of this kind). When we walked to the hill country to attend the *wapi* ceremony we came to three such places of refreshment. They took the form of a platform made of boughs, on which was placed a number of baskets made of coco-nut palm leaves plaited containing pieces of roast pig and boiled taros; others filled with the eggs of the megapode, almost ready to hatch, cooked and done up in leaves. There were also large packets of ceremonial pudding. Huge bunches of areca-nuts, yellow and green, hung from the posts of the platform, together with bundles of betel-pepper. Guests were supposed to provide their own lime. All along the edge of the platform were hung rows of coco-nuts. The effect was most lavish. We were also plentifully supplied with similar food at the ceremony itself, consuming it in the intervals of waiting. Such displays are not entirely prompted by generosity, or even the desire to make a show, since it is the custom, when guests think that the food provided for them is inadequate, to take revenge by wrecking their hosts' plantations, breaking down their coco-nut and areca palms, and spearing their pigs. It is said that in the olden days the angry guests even went so far as to burn the village and kill many of the inhabitants, including women and children. But, on the other hand, ostentatious display of wealth by single individuals is avoided for fear of 'poison'. They say that if a man prepares a very lavish feast, all the men who know how to make poison say: 'This fellow has made a big feast, we must kill him.' 'They are angry with the man who has done so well at getting food and so they make him die with their bad medicine.'

GIFTS

People are entitled to ask for areca-nuts, coco-nuts, &c., from those who stand to them in the relation of *kiar* (sibling of the same

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she must buy it, paying in any commodity that happens to be available. But when a big feast, such as the *watawutf*, is held, each must contribute to the common stock for the entertainment of the vast crowds of visitors who will arrive for the occasion.

Portions of land are allotted by the *tsunaun* to any one who wishes to plant coco-nut palms.[1] These trees are then his personal property, and no one would take nuts from them without his consent, except such near relatives as children, or brothers and sisters, both blood and classificatory. However thirsty a man may be while on a journey, he would not think of climbing a coco-nut palm to shake down nuts, unless he came to a grove to whose owner he stood in such relationship.

Ownership is also recognized in certain trees, such as those used for making dug-out canoes, or those valued for their fruit, such as the canarium almond. It may be established by planting the tree, or inherited from a relative who planted. These trees will be on land which, though vested in the *tsunaun*, and said to 'belong to' him, is used by the whole group, as explained in a previous paragraph, so that the ownership of trees is differentiated from the ownership of the land they stand on. To a great extent it is true here, as is described by Thurnwald at Buin (1912, p. 34), that property is connected chiefly with the results of work.

Pigs.

Pigs rank as property next in importance to strings of *imun* and above *beroan*. They are entirely personal possessions, and may be owned by anybody, man, woman, or child. A man with no pigs is regarded as poor, but there is nothing to prevent him from gaining prestige in the village by other means. Sobak, one of the prominent rain-makers of Kurtatchi, had no pigs, and though this was sometimes the subject of rather jeering comment, it did not prevent him from receiving a certain amount of deference in view of his skill at rain-making. But a man without pigs is debarred from certain privileges. For example, only a man who can produce ten pigs may build a *tobar* (boys' house), and those wishing to make use of this *tobar* pay a pig to the owner, except the boys wearing the *upi*, who are exempt.

Each person knows his own pigs individually, treats them as

[1] The Government has now instituted a rule that every man must plant ten coco-nut palms for each of his children at birth.

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household pets, and calls them by name.[1] They roam about the village or the bush at will, but come morning and evening to their owner's hut to be fed when called. I have frequently seen women and children caressing them, but do not know of any case in which they have been suckled by women, though this may quite possibly occur, as reported from other areas. Village pigs have their ears slit as a mark of identification, and the males are castrated, which is regarded as a means of identifying them when they are caught in the nets meant for wild pigs, though the reason given for carrying out this operation is that they will not be so wild and so likely to run away. (See further discussion of this question in Chapter III.) No attempt is made to breed, but the females have plenty of opportunity of foregathering with bush pigs, so that the supply is maintained in spite of this custom. The litter belongs to the person who owns the mother. Sometimes young pigs are taken over to Baniu to be cared for there, because 'the ground is better for them' there than at Kurtatchi. In this case, when the sow farrows, the Baniu people are given a piglet for their trouble.

On the occasion of a major feast, pigs are contributed by each person concerned in any respect, according to his ability, assessed by the *tsunaun*. Some months before the *watawutf* ceremony was due to be held, Pinari went round to some of the villages whose boys were to take part in it, leaving at every house a short length of bamboo; this was an indication that such a house was to provide a pig for the associated feast, the family would then set aside a certain pig for that purpose.

The pigs belonging to a person of rank are killed at his death to provide food for the people who come to wail.

Wild pigs killed in the bush are the property of the huntsman. If a concerted drive is made with nets, the pigs caught belong to

[1] Some pigs are named after the place they came from, or the person from whom they were obtained. Some are given names reminiscent of events which happened at the time they were born, e.g. 'Kwigin', for a pig born when the *upi* boys were being given food by the *kwigin* (older men) in the bush, prior to the *watawutf* ceremony. Some contain a sly allusion to somebody's personal idiosyncrasy: 'Guruskiu', 'Sleeps over his work'; 'Muwapuin', 'Eats herself and gives none away'. Other names refer to a physical peculiarity of the pig: 'Pipipispan', 'One ear cut, one ear not cut'. Not infrequently there is a dig at the white man. One pig was called by the name of a planter whom the natives much disliked, this was intended as an insult. Another was called 'Whiteman'. On inquiring the reason for this, I was told: 'The white people give their pigs names of our people, so we called our pig "Whiteman".'

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764 The coffin was carried to the burial ground by eight men, relatives of the dead man and neighbours, supported on their upraised arms, not on their shoulders. The lid was fastened down with rope at the side of the grave, into which the coffin was lowered with ropes and flexible canes. A few people threw earth into it—they must, I suppose, have seen the missionary do this—the women then went away, and the men finished the filling in, planting cordylines at the head and foot and at the sides, to mark the spot.[1] Then the men, after washing, went to the dead man's house and ate taro and yams. They put a dab of lime on their temples at each side. Anybody may take part in this meal, not only the kinsmen. This concluded the funeral. I was told that in the olden times there would have been a special dance, but this was not done any more.

765 574 On December 19, i.e. about six weeks after the death, Tsirisia's son gave a ceremonial meal. This feast, to which I was specially invited, consisted chiefly of ceremonial pudding and taro; the place of pig was taken by tins of meat which they can buy at a store on a neighbouring island. I was given a place of honour on the front verandah of the 'men's house', where the older men were sitting. The younger men were grouped in front of a house opposite. The women were all inside the house in which the man had died. One of the men said grace and all the people said Amen. Then the dishes (made of spathes of areca-palm) of ceremonial pudding were given out. One was handed to me, a large one was sent in to the women, and another to the younger men congregated opposite. One was taken to an old man who was too feeble to attend. We sat round eating and talking for some time, and then one by one the men drifted off, some taking part of the funeral feast with them for consumption at home.

Regulations for the relatives

765 178 The widow and the mother of the dead man were obliged to stay near the house until the feast just described, i.e. for about six weeks. This was a modification of the old custom, according to which they would have had to spend this time in seclusion inside it. After the feast they were at liberty to resume their normal activities.

On the present occasion the mother, a very old woman, had her

[1] This was the reason given, but the use of cordylines would appear to be traditional, since these plants are connected with death, as well as having other ritual significance, in the old belief.

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765 The period of seclusion for the women is now finished, they may go to the taro garden, go fishing, and take up their ordinary life. The belts are still worn. If it rains they are taken off and covered up: it would be a very bad thing for the rain to wash the dirt off them.

765 When it is time to remove the belts a big feast is made. This is called *wakuruts mɔ*. The time is fixed by the person who is now 574 *tunaun*, and depends very largely upon the quantity of food 527 available. People come from all the villages round, even for a long distance, all the people who came to wail at the funeral. If they wish they may bring pig and taro to help the dead person's relatives, who go some distance to meet the visitors and bring in the pigs. The feast lasts for one day only. The next day the belts are taken off, a big basket (*bōna*, the kind used by the women in collecting shell-fish) is filled with them. All the people must take off their belts at the same time. The belts are washed before they are put into the basket. Leaves of a variegated plant called *ōts* are fixed to the basket and it is fastened up with them. Stones are then piled into the basket and it is thrown away into the sea. (But after the practice of interment at sea was given up and burial in the ground took its place, the basket of belts was burnt instead.)

765 Then all the people cut their hair and put red paint on their hair 302 and round their eyes. They clean up the village, and sound the slit-gong. The taboo is finished. The widow is now free to marry again.[1]

House-burial

766 An instance of the burial of a body in the dwelling-house came under my personal observation at Kurtatchi.[2] Krapen, husband of Wakos, had died some time before my arrival—the exact interval I could not ascertain, but I think it was probably less than a year. His wife, who was very much attached to him, desired that he should be buried in the house, and this was done. At the time of my arrival, the huts of the old village of Gomen were all being

[1] It is exceedingly difficult to obtain from these people even an approximate estimate of time, but the whole period of mourning appears to have occupied at least as much as a year.

[2] At the time of my residence at Petats I was unaware of this custom. I subsequently inquired whether it was ever done there, and was informed that in the past babies used sometimes to be buried inside the house; I could not learn of any cases of adults being so disposed of.

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moved to join the neighbouring village of Kurtatchi, as explained in Chapter I. Wako's house was left in its old position; they said it could not be moved because Krapen's body was buried under it, and if the site was left uncovered some one would 'shoot' it, and his spirit would be angry. A new house was therefore built for Wakos at Kurtatchi. Krapen's pillow was also preserved in the house. All his pigs but one had been eaten at his funeral, the remaining one was to be cooked when his bones were taken up and buried in the graveyard. They said this would be done at some future time, to be decided by the deceased's mother's brother. But on my returning after a few day's absence at Petats for the purpose of removing my belongings to Kurtatchi, I found that the reburial had taken place in the interval. As I had been with these people for a very short time, it is not unlikely that they took advantage of my absence to carry out this delicate operation unembarrassed by the presence of a stranger, though they were tactful enough to explain to me that it had been decided upon hastily to facilitate the rebuilding of the village in its new position! His pillow was stored carefully away in the house after its removal to Kurtatchi, and still remained there at the time of my departure nine months later. Three other pillows were also awaiting disposal. They had to remain where they were for a long time; finally a great feast was to be held for all of them at once, after which they would be burnt. The last remaining one of Krapen's pigs had been kept for this feast, to be cooked at the fire on which his pillow was burnt.

Further details concerning funerary rites

The information presented in the following paragraphs was collected at various times from different informants in the course of discussion and conversation. Since the utmost care has always to be exercised in asking questions, the fact that the old customs have been given up, and that I had in consequence no opportunity of discussing them apropos of an actual funeral, must have resulted in the omission of many important details, and also made very difficult any attempt to ascertain what significance was attached by the natives to the different portions of the funerary ritual.

The body, when buried, seems always to have been placed in the extended position. No special orientation seems to have been given to the grave, for in all the graveyards I visited no attempt

those of normal people, are forbidden territory to other members of the tribe, and only the wives are an exception to this rule. The men have the assembly house as a common meeting place; neighborly visits in our sense of the word are not customary in the Solomon Islands. As a privileged person, I have occasionally been allowed to enter the chieftains' houses. After your eye has become accustomed to the darkness of the room, you notice the women on the raised beds; part of them are busy caring for the children, others sew strips of pandanus leaves together, prepare fish nets, etc. At most, the favorite wife of the chieftain is unoccupied, and a number of the other wives are always present to serve her exclusively. It is often quite amusing to see how this sultana tyrannizes not only her fellow wives, but also her husband and wields over him a strict petticoat regime. Despite the fact that the men seem to pay little attention to their wives outside, they seem to be very obedient within their own four walls.

[19] Clothing and Ornaments

In very few cases can one speak of clothing in our sense of the word. Gay-colored cotton materials used as loin cloths are customary for men as well as for women in many places nowadays, but there are large areas where they are not yet in use. At most belts and aprons hanging down from them come into consideration there.

Belts are worn extensively. They sometimes consist solely of a narrow string fastened firmly around the waist. Young men occasionally use as belts the money strings made of round shell disks and called biruan (see below). The most desired belt (mávesi in Buka), however, consists of braid work such as I shall describe under bracelets; some of these are ten centimeters wide and are executed in a carefully worked pattern in black, yellow and red. More frequently long strips of red-dyed rattan are worn (tóno in Buka). These strips are 5 to 10 millimeters wide and 2 to 8 meters long, dyed a pretty red, and engraved with rectangular figures and zigzag lines. These strips are placed closely around the waist and often drawn extremely tightly. I noticed this belt especially on young dandies, now and then also on older men, but never on women. Both sexes, on the other hand, occasionally wear a belt of pandanus leaves; the leaves are rolled up and natural-colored strands are woven with black or red dyed strands to form a cord that is